

Redevelopment and the Rust Belt: Understanding Cultural Influences on Residential Preferences

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Abstract

Although redevelopment and gentrification is obvious in many once distressed U.S. cities, very little is known about the perceptions of these neighborhoods among the metropolitan community. This is largely due to the fact that most studies of gentrification or redevelopment tend to occur in redeveloped neighborhoods or consider redevelopment in absence of other influences on residential mobility. I use the cultural insights gleaned from community studies of gentrifying neighborhoods as well as those from the existing literature on residential mobility to examine who in the metropolitan area would consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood and why they would consider moving there. Racial differences as well as age, when mediated through education, have a strong effect on who considers a redeveloped neighborhood while reasons vary by education, income and age. Implications for understanding the class impacts of redevelopment as well as insights into residential perceptions more generally are examined.

Introduction

Studies of the causes of redevelopment and gentrification of formerly distressed cities in the United States have found that a combination of capitalist restructuring and changes in cultural consumption have led middle class residents “back to the city” and created incentives for capitalist development of once “devalorized” neighborhoods (Ley 1996; Smith 1996; Zukin 1987). Recent attention has focused on ascertaining why particular portions of the middle classes decide to move to gentrifying neighborhoods in central cities of major metropolitan areas. Explanations have tended to extend Pierre Bourdieu’s (1984) theory of class formation and maintenance through the expression of distinctive tastes to neighborhood choice, where the selection of particular neighborhoods is seen as one field along which distinctive tastes are expressed (Bridge 2001; Butler 2007; Webber 2007). Bourdieu’s influence has been so pervasive that a recent critical review has argued that attention given to the “seemingly endless theoretical vault of Bourdieu’s habitus” has prevented a critical analysis of the consequences of gentrification (Slater, Curran, and Lees 2004:1145).

Of course the most visible of the consequences of gentrification is the displacement of the existing lower class community by wealthier migrants. In fact, this is the exact process that Ruth Glass observed in London in 1964 and termed “gentrification.” Although there is general agreement that, over time, lower class neighborhoods in some U.S. cities are transformed into middle class neighborhoods, there is less agreement regarding how much of this transition is caused by forced out-migration and how much can be attributed to the turnover caused by standard migration patterns that tend to replace lower class residents with middle class residents (Freeman and Braconi 2004; Newman and Wyly 2006; Vigdor 2002). There is also agreement that the elderly are particularly vulnerable to forced displacement (Newman and Wyly 2006;

Vigdor 2002). Yet, even if displacement occurs relatively infrequently, it can still be a painful event for those who are forced to endure it and, even if the displacement rates are relatively low, it still constitutes an important inquiry relating redevelopment and gentrification to urban inequality (Slater 2006).

The problem is that displacement is not the only way that inequality can be perpetuated or exacerbated by the current redevelopment and gentrification of central-city communities. Current studies of gentrification tend to isolate the investigation of redeveloped neighborhoods in the particular neighborhoods where it is known to be happening. Theories based on placing gentrification within a distinctive cultural habitus have tended to assume that mobility decisions and practices are pure expressions of residential preferences. Even the studies of displacement, which explicitly aim to look at a wider geographical context by comparing gentrifying neighborhoods to other metropolitan neighborhoods (Freeman and Braconi 2004; Vigdor 2002), fail to investigate the role that wider metropolitan preferences might play on the class-based residential turnover in gentrifying neighborhoods. Furthermore, while all of these studies involve residential mobility among the population, very few engage with the vast demographic literature investigating mobility decisions.

This paper, therefore, seeks to integrate two existing lines of research. First, there is strong evidence that residential location is one indicator of status. While this is not a new phenomenon, as residents have long been able to link a place's desirability with its class (Logan and Collver 1983), understanding the class dimensions of this process might contribute a more complex understanding of residential attainment. Second, understanding the preferences for redeveloped neighborhoods in a metropolitan context can provide insight into how structural factors might bear on the specific class development of gentrifying neighborhoods. In particular

I am interested in two dimensions. First, I want to investigate not only whether metropolitan residents' willingness to consider a redeveloped neighborhood is affected by educational attainment, but also whether differences in educational attainment matter for residents differently across the age spectrum. Specifically, I want to know whether age has a differential effect on considering a redeveloped neighborhood for respondents with different levels of education. Second, I want to investigate the extent to which racial differences in preferences are reflected in the attainment of residence in redeveloped or gentrifying neighborhoods. Finally, I am interested in investigating the differences in reasons why metropolitan area residents would consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood based on different racial/ethnic, socio-economic and demographic characteristics to determine what role redevelopment of urban centers might play on the attenuation or perpetuation of urban inequality.

Data and Methods

The data for this study come from the Chicago Area Study (CAS), a multi-stage area probability sample of adults aged 21 years and older living in non-institutional households in Cook County, Illinois. Cook County, Illinois includes the city of Chicago as well as many of Chicago's surrounding suburban communities which permits an analysis at a larger metropolitan level than the city itself; however, the study does not include many of the outlying suburban communities in the metropolitan area. All of the interviews were computer assisted personal interviews and were conducted from August 2004 to August 2005¹.

¹ Because of the complex sample design of the study, I use weighting procedures for all analyses in order to adjust estimates and standard errors to be representative to the population of Cook County [STATA CORPORATION XXXX].

Dependent Variables

One module of the CAS asked respondents about redeveloping neighborhoods in the city of Chicago. Specifically, the module was introduced with the prompt, “In recent years, older places like Chicago have made efforts to redevelop the neighborhoods in their central cities. Think of what this brings to mind for you.” The study used the term “redevelop” because alternatives, such as “gentrify” have strong racial connotations (Hartigan 1999; Pattillo 2007) and “revitalize” implies a lack of activity in redeveloped neighborhoods which is often not the case (Smith 1996). The dependent variable in the first analysis is the response to the question, “If you were thinking of buying or renting a new home, would you consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood in the city of Chicago?” Responses of “yes” were coded to be equal to one and responses of “no” were coded zero.

The second analysis considers the reasons why respondents might consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood. All respondents who indicated that they would consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood were subsequently asked “Which of these are reasons why you would consider moving into a redeveloped neighborhood in the city of Chicago?” and were given a list of ten response options and given an option to indicate another reason not listed. Respondents were allowed to select any of the reasons that they would consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood. In this analysis I focus primarily on six that have been presented as theoretically relevant. These are 1) “Close to work,” 2) “Close to cultural and recreational activities,” 3) “Close to shopping,” 4) “High quality of housing,” 5) “City services will be better,” and 6) “More job opportunities.” Dichotomous variables were created for each of these responses and the value was set to one if the respondent indicated the reason and zero otherwise.

Independent Variables

Racial/ethnic identification is constructed from self-reported measures of race and Hispanic ethnicity. Respondents were allowed to pick more than one racial identity; however, few respondents used this option. For this analysis, respondents are considered to be Hispanic if they indicated that they are Hispanic, regardless of the racial identity that the respondent chose. Respondents are considered to be non-Hispanic white if they identified as such and no other option and the respondent is considered to be non-Hispanic black if they identified as such, in combination with any other race. Therefore, the categories of Hispanic, non-Hispanic black and non-Hispanic white are mutually exclusive. Because there are an insufficient number of respondents identifying in other racial/ethnic categories to allow for analyses, only these three racial/ethnic categories are used for this analysis. Education is measured and classified into four categories: those with less than high school diploma or G.E.D.; those with a high school diploma, G.E.D. or less than one year of college; those with one to two years of college; and those with three or more years of college. I use a measure of annual family income, which is also divided into four categories: less than \$20,000; \$20,000 to \$39,999; \$40,000 to \$79,999; and \$80,000 or more. Because there was substantial missing data on the income variable, values for missing data were imputed to the missing cases using Stata's "impute" command with a random residual [STATA CORPORATION XXXX]. Both of these measures were turned into a series of dummy variables and the highest category from each measure—three or more years of college for education and \$80,000 or more for income—were used as the reference categories for the multivariate analyses.

A respondent's willingness to consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood and the reason for doing so might be influenced by their current residential situation. In order to control for this, I have included a categorical variable that indicates whether the respondent is a suburban

renter, a suburban homeowner, a renter in Chicago or a homeowner in Chicago. Chicago homeowners are the reference category. Furthermore, respondents' impressions of the city might be colored by their knowledge of the city and to control for this possibility, I include the number of years that the respondent has lived in the metropolitan area as a variable.

Life-course changes are known to have an effect on resident's mobility decisions and preferences. Therefore, I include in the model whether the respondent is currently married and whether the respondent has a child less than 18 years of age living in the home, although no distinction is made whether this is the respondent's child. In case there are gender effects, I control for whether the respondent is female. I also control for respondent's age using both a linear and a squared term and center these variables at 21 years in order to facilitate interpretation of the models at the intercept.

However, there is evidence that life-course changes happen at different points for people of different classes. In particular, those with more education tend to marry later and delay child birth. While knowing whether a respondent has actually transitioned into marriage or has a child in the house is important, it might not reveal that moves might happen in anticipation of such an event occurring. Because these transitions happen at different ages for people with different levels of education, there is reason to suspect that there might be an interaction between age and level of education for determining residential preferences. Indeed, even the term "yuppie"—or young urban professional—which has been used to describe newcomers to central cities since the 1980s denotes the interaction of age and level of education. Therefore, I include interaction terms for age and education as well as age squared and education.

Analytic Methods

My first set of analyses model who would consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood. I first consider the percentage of respondents who would consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood based on racial, ethnic, socio-economic and life-course characteristics. In order to test the independent effects of these characteristics, I then use a logistic regression model to model the effects of the same characteristics on whether a respondent would consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood.

The second set of analyses considers why respondents would consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood. Because of the design of the survey instrument, respondents were only filtered into this question if they indicated that they would be willing to consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood. If I find in the first set of analyses that the selection into the group being willing to consider a redeveloped neighborhood is non-random (i.e. people systematically differ in their willingness to consider a redeveloped neighborhood) and these differences are also likely to contribute to the selection of different reasons for considering a redeveloped neighborhood, then there will be a bias in my estimates of differences in selection will be biased if I only use respondents who were filtered into the question. Therefore, I use a Heckman probit selection model which accounts for the potential correlation between the selection into the model, whether a respondent would consider a redeveloped neighborhood, and the outcome of interest, whether a respondent would consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood.

The Heckman probit selection model requires that separate models for the selection and outcome be specified. Since I specifically model characteristics likely to affect a respondent's willingness to consider a redeveloped neighborhood in the first part of the analysis, I will retain the variables demonstrating a significant effect from the first analysis to use as the selection model. For the outcome model, I use similar variables to those that I used to model respondents'

willingness to consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood; however, I focus on four theoretically relevant variables in particular. First, I am interested in whether there are racial and ethnic differences in the reasons respondents would consider moving to redeveloped neighborhoods. Second, I use education to determine whether there are differences in established class or status distinctions in the reasons people indicate that they would consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood. Third, I include income because it is more indicative of immediate financial circumstances than education and this may affect the reasons a respondent would consider a redeveloped neighborhood. Lastly, I also consider whether age affects the reasons a person would consider a redeveloped neighborhood.

Results

Who would consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood?

Over the entire sample, I find that over half of the respondents in this study (55%) would consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood. This is unsurprising given that Chicago has been identified as a national center of the new service-based or “creative” economy (Florida 2002; Sassen 2006) as well its adoption of market-based housing policy that was introduced as a model for national policy (Wyly and Hammel 2000). Chicago also has a number of well-known neighborhoods such as Wicker Park (Lloyd 2002), Pilsen (Betancur 2002), Lakefront/North Oakland-Kenwood (Pattillo 2007) that have experienced redevelopment under different circumstances, increasing the chances that residents can think of at least one redeveloped neighborhood that addresses their preferences.

While the overall percentage of respondents who would consider a redeveloped neighborhood is high, there are important differences among respondents who would and would not consider redeveloped neighborhoods. The percentage of respondents willing to consider a redeveloped neighborhood broken down across the independent variables can be seen in Table

XX as well as the 95% confidence intervals for the estimate. There is a strong racial component as 74% of blacks are willing to consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood compared to 62% and only 45% of whites. One can see from the confidence intervals that the difference between whites and blacks is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). Educationally, those with the least education are most likely to consider redeveloped neighborhoods, followed by those with the most education, though none of the differences are statistically significant. The willingness to consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood is associated with income, however. As income increases, the likelihood of considering a redeveloped neighborhood decreases and those who make less than \$20,000 annually are statistically more likely than those with \$80,000 or more. Suburban homeowners are significantly less likely to consider a redeveloped neighborhood as are married respondents compared to respondents who are not currently married. Surprisingly, there is almost no difference between respondents with children compared to those who do not have children.

[TABLE ONE ABOUT HERE]

The rise of gentrification has been theorized to be, in part, an expression of status through a distinct taste for new types of urban neighborhoods among upper-income and highly educated class of metropolitan residents (Ley 1996; Zukin 1987). Given this context, the picture that is painted by these comparisons is somewhat surprising because it actually shows that respondents with the least income and lowest education are either more or equally likely to consider redeveloped neighborhoods. Of course, these simple figures might cover more complex relationships among the independent variables that could be revealed considering their multivariate relationships. Therefore, we turn to the logistic regression analysis presented in Table 2. The first model of Table 2 includes independent variables for race/ethnicity, education,

income, the number of years lived in the metropolitan area and whether the respondent is female, married or has a child at home. This model does not account for the current housing situation of respondents in order to see the effect of different socio-economic and demographic characteristics on the willingness to consider a redeveloped neighborhood for the metropolitan area regardless of previous housing decisions. The model demonstrates, again, that there is broad agreement on considering redeveloped neighborhoods across these characteristics except for select racial and income differences. Blacks are about 3.5 times more likely than whites to consider a redeveloped neighborhood and those who make less than \$20,000 are about twice as likely as those who make \$80,000 or more independent of the other variables in the model².

[TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

I account for respondents' current housing situation in Model 2 of Table 2. Adding these variables demonstrates a very clear pattern. Respondents who own homes in suburban Cook County are less likely than respondents in any other housing situations to consider a redeveloped neighborhood. This difference is most pronounced between suburban renters who are over three times less likely ($\exp\{1.55\}=3.17$, $p<0.001$) to consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood than suburban owners. While being a homeowner affects whether one would consider moving (Crowder 2001), it seems that the specific effect in the case of considering redeveloped neighborhoods is also divided along a suburban/central city divide. Additionally, controlling for respondents' current housing situation also reduces the effect of being black, though it remains strong as blacks are still 2.7 times more likely than whites to consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood ($p<0.01$). Adding current housing situation also eliminates the significant effect of income on considering a redeveloped neighborhood. Again, outside of a black/white difference

² Explain where these numbers come from.

and suburban owners, there are few differences between people who would consider a redeveloped neighborhood.

Finally, I add the interaction between age and education in the final model of Table 2. These interactions show a striking pattern for the willingness to consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood. The interactions of age, age squared and education are significant for those with less than a high school degree and those with a high school degree. The significance of these terms indicates that the level of education of the respondent matters differently for respondents at different ages³ for respondents with either less than a high school degree or less than one year of college compared to respondents with three or more years of college. In order to more clearly understand the meaning of these coefficients, the effect of age is graphed for each of the four levels of education in Figure 1. Each of the lines represents the odds of considering a redeveloped neighborhood for the labeled level of education for respondents of different ages. The differences between education categories across the age spectrum are striking. At age 21, respondents with a high school education are the most likely to consider a redeveloped neighborhood—a statistically significant difference from respondents who have three or more years of college who are five times less likely than respondents with a high school education⁴. Yet, while the likelihood of selecting a redeveloped neighborhood declines steeply as age increases for those with a high school degree and similarly for those with a high school degree, the likelihood for people with three or more years of college increases slightly into their mid-forties before declining slightly at ages older than that. While the pattern

³ Alternatively, this could also mean that age matters differently for respondents with different levels of education.

⁴ Because age and age-squared are centered around 21 years (i.e. age=0 for a respondent who is 21 years old), the education coefficients represent the effect of each level of education in comparison to respondents who have three or more years of education. Therefore, the significant positive effect on the coefficient for respondents with a high school degree, G.E.D. or less than one year of college indicates that these respondents are significantly more likely than respondents with three or more years of college to indicate a willingness to consider a redeveloped neighborhood at age 21.

of people with one or two years of college is more similar to the trajectory of respondents with less than one year of college, the difference with respondents having three or more years of education was not statistically significant. It is also notable that, net of all other effects, the odds of choosing a redeveloped neighborhood are very similar for respondents with education levels in their late twenties.

[FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

The final model in Table 2 also shows that controlling for the interaction of age and education does not eliminate either the racial effect or that of being a suburban homeowner. In fact, both of these effects actually increase slightly such that blacks have higher odds of considering a redeveloped neighborhood than whites and suburban homeowners are still the least likely to consider a redeveloped neighborhood. Furthermore, after adding the interaction of age and education, there is a significantly negative effect of having a child on considering a redeveloped neighborhood. Respondents with children are a little bit more than half as likely to consider a redeveloped neighborhood compared to respondents without children.

Why would people consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood?

While there is reasonably strong agreement among respondents on who would consider a redeveloped neighborhood, particularly at younger ages, this does not mean that people would consider redeveloped neighborhoods for the same reasons. Differences in why people would consider a redeveloped neighborhood would influence the development of these neighborhoods and how redevelopment might contribute or alleviate urban inequality. The percentages of respondents indicating each of the reasons, both in total and by different characteristics, are listed in Table 3. Because these percentages could be influenced by the quantity of reasons selected by respondents, I tested whether there are systematic differences in this quantity by regressing the

number of reasons selected by the independent variables of interest. This analysis (not shown) demonstrates that there are not any significant differences ($p < 0.05$) in the number of reasons chosen by respondents.

The results of the Heckman probit selection models are presented in Table 4. A model is created for every reason that residents of Cook County would consider a redeveloped neighborhood. The selection portion is the same for each model and includes the significant variables from the analysis considering who would move to a redeveloped neighborhood. Specifically, these models control for race/ethnicity, education, age, age-squared, whether the respondent has a child and the interaction of the age variables with education. Because the selection portion essentially replicates the first analysis, the coefficients for the selection portion for the models are not shown. The outcome portion of each of the models includes variables for race/ethnicity, education, income, the current housing situation for respondents as well as age. However, in the outcome portion of the model, age is measured in a different form than in the selection model. In the outcome portion I also use a different specification of age. Rather than using the quadratic age, I use a series of dummy variables for ten-year age categories: 21-29 years, 30-39 years, 40-49 years, 50-59 years and 60 years or older. I use this specification because I suspect that the reasons why people would consider redeveloped neighborhoods does not vary continuously with age; rather, I suspect that there are stark divisions between different age groups in the reasons they would consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood. In other words, whether respondents indicate that they will consider a redeveloped neighborhood varies continuously as age increases but the reasons for doing so may be very different for different age groups.

Close to Cultural and Recreational Opportunities

The first reason that residents might consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood is to be closer to cultural and recreational opportunities that are generally available in the central city as opposed to the suburbs. This has been the focus of recent attention in many redevelopment schemes that have focused on the increasing importance of quality of life considerations in amenities that are provided by residence in the creative environments of central cities (Florida 2002; Glaeser, Kolko, and Saiz 2001). In fact, the profile of residents considering a redeveloped neighborhood fits very closely to that defined by Florida (2002). While 45 percent of respondents would consider a redeveloped neighborhood for this reason overall, there is a distinctly noticeable pattern of respondents who indicate this reason more often. The pattern in Table 3 shows that well-educated, white, upper-income, suburban homeowners in their thirties and forties are the most likely to consider redeveloped neighborhoods for this reason. From a descriptive standpoint, this is precisely the demographic that Florida (2002) identifies as constituting the new “creative class” that he argues is responsible for the resurgence of cities like Chicago. Although not all of these differences are significant, two of the most important factors identified by Florida (2002), education and age, are independently statistically significant. Residents with a high school education are less likely to select this reason than those with three or more years of college and people in their thirties and forties are more likely to consider a redeveloped neighborhood for this reason than respondents in their twenties.

Close to Shopping

Redeveloped neighborhoods have been highlighted as desirable places to live because of the increased commercial presence brought by redevelopment. In fact, this is one of the reasons that Vigdor (2002) and Freeman and Braconi (2004) have identified why existing residents might elect to stay in redeveloped neighborhoods. In Freeman’s (2006) follow up study, it is one of the

potential benefits that many of the existing residents highlighted, though they worried that they might not be able to enjoy the benefits of investment because they would no longer be able to afford their homes (see also Pattillo 2007). In total, 38 percent of respondents would consider a redeveloped neighborhood for this reason. However, only 16 percent of respondents with annual incomes of \$20,000-\$39,999 would consider a redeveloped neighborhood for this reason.

Although there is some variation in the means by race and education, one can see from Table 4 that the strong effect of income comes through even after controlling for all of the effects simultaneously. Of course, this question does not ask for the kinds of shopping that residents would find desirable and, if gentrification is driven by demand-side desires of middle class residents to establish a distinction between themselves and the lower classes, the kinds and types of shopping available would also be important.

Quality of Housing

The quality of housing has also been linked to the development of redeveloped neighborhoods, particularly that redevelopment which is often initiated by small private owners who like the architectural character of a house and are willing to invest “sweat equity” to improve it (Jager 1986). The search for quality housing of this sort is often tied to the historical preservation and further distinction created by this architecturally refined taste. Among all of the reasons, this reason is the most racially/ethnically equitable: 44 percent of both whites and blacks and 41 percent of Hispanics all stated this reason as one which would cause them to consider a redeveloped neighborhood. As further evidence of the quality housing being a feature bestowing distinction upon its residents, there is a stark educational division as those people with three or more years of college indicate quality housing as a reason to consider a neighborhood. Residents with the least income endorse this reason much less often than respondents with more income.

Also, there is a strong association between Chicagoans citing this reason and more than suburban residents. The independent effects of these variables actually show that income and age are significant. Again, residents with the least income are less likely to select this reason. Residents in their thirties and over the age of sixty are more likely than respondents in their twenties to look for quality housing. Also, we find that residents with the least annual income are less likely than respondents with the most income to indicate quality housing as a reason to consider redeveloped neighborhoods.

Close to Work

The development of redeveloped neighborhoods in once blighted downtowns has also been linked to the fact that residents who work in the professional and managerial jobs in downtown offices want to reduce their commute. Controlling for all of the other effects measured in the model, this appears not to be true. While the percentages of respondents who are currently owning or renting in the city of Chicago are almost equal with that of suburban owners, we actually see in Table 4 that, net of all of the other measured effects in the model, residents who are Chicago renters or homeowners are actually more likely to indicate that they would consider a redeveloped neighborhood because it is close to work. Furthermore, we also find that older respondents compared to those in their twenties are not as likely to indicate proximity to work as a reason to consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood while those in their thirties are not statistically different from respondents in their twenties.

City Services

Another reason identified by both Vigdor (2002) and Freeman and Braconi (2004) why lower class incumbent residents might remain in gentrifying neighborhoods is the increased city services available to those neighborhoods. Again, the specific city services are not identified and

could vary greatly from quality schools, medical clinics, police and fire protection or other quality of life attributes like city parks or civic events. However, even using this broad category and looking at the proportion of respondents along class lines in terms of both income and education as both the most highly educated and the wealthiest indicate this as a reason to select a redeveloped neighborhood less than any of the other categories. We also see a link between city and suburban residence as Chicagoans indicate this reason more than either suburban homeowners or renters. This may give some credence to Smith's (1996) contention that gentrification really constitutes a re-prioritization of new investment over the service to existing residents and their neighborhoods. Racially, whites endorse this reason less than either blacks or Hispanics and this might reflect the current situation where black and Hispanic residents feel as if their needs are neglected in their current neighborhoods and see redeveloped neighborhoods as a potential to improve their access to city services. None of these differences, however, exerts an *independent* effect on selection of this reason. Rather, the only independent effect is that residents who are 60 years or older indicate this reason more than residents in their twenties. Finding this single variable that is independently significant is particularly important because the elderly are the most likely to be involuntarily displaced by gentrification and redevelopment (Newman and Wyly 2006; Vigdor 2002).

Job Opportunities

The final reason that I consider why residents might elect to live in a redeveloped neighborhood is that residents might be drawn by the increased job opportunities in these neighborhoods. This has, again, been identified as one of the possible reasons why respondents might consider living in a redeveloped neighborhood, even if they pay a premium in housing costs (Freeman and Braconi 2004; Vigdor 2002). But, part of the resurgence of certain cities

has also been linked to the agglomeration of “creative” or service pursuits in certain areas and, therefore, young people are drawn to move to these cities in order to look for jobs there (Florida 2002). Looking at the percentages of respondents in each of the categories, we see evidence that less wealthy, less educated and younger residents identify job opportunities as one of the reasons that they would consider a redeveloped neighborhood. But, again, after controlling for all of the simultaneous associations, the only independently significant difference is respondents who have a high school education are considerably more likely than respondents with three or more years of education to consider a redeveloped neighborhood because of its job opportunities.

Discussion

Looking first at who would consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood, there are several important patterns that emerge from the data that can inform the nature of urban redevelopment in the Chicago metropolitan area. First, more than half of residents in Cook County would consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood in the city of Chicago. While migration to redeveloped neighborhoods is often considered in terms of class-based preferences, this number alone implies that the desire to live in a redeveloped neighborhood is not the exclusive province of the “new middle class” (Ley 1996) or the “creative class” (Florida 2002), but is actually a widely shared desire. It indicates a need to investigate the ability of residents of different classes to be able to actualize their preferences into mobility. Additionally, the fact that over half of the residents in Cook County find these kinds of neighborhoods attractive demonstrates the importance of redevelopment in transforming the image and perceptions of American cities. While evidence indicates that Americans, on the whole, are expanding towards the suburbs more than they are reconcentrating in cities, redevelopment projects an image of cities as a possible destination for residence and, possibly, entertainment.

It is also, however, important to look at the discrepancies in preferences for a redeveloped neighborhood versus residents who are actually able to attain residence in these neighborhoods. Given the degree to which race informs residential preferences in the United States, it is unsurprising to find racial differences in the consideration of a redeveloped neighborhood. Overall, African Americans are more likely to consider moving to a redeveloped neighborhood than whites. This could simply be due to the fact that African Americans consider a larger number of places for potential residence with a wider array of racial compositions at the same time that they reject consideration of fewer communities (Krysan and Bader 2007). Or, it could be due to existing residential segregation that places African Americans closer to redeveloped neighborhoods and, thus, they have a greater familiarity with redeveloped neighborhoods. Finally, it could also be due to the fact that many whites might perceive neighborhoods in the city of Chicago to have a larger proportion of non-white residence; given that most whites find more than a handful of non-whites in neighborhoods undesirable (Emerson, Chai, and Yancey 2001; Farley et al. 1978) they may, therefore, eliminate those neighborhoods from consideration.

Yet, overall, one of the most significant predictors used in identifying gentrifying neighborhoods is an increase in the percentage of white residents (Wyly and Hammel 1999). The black middle class also contributed to the development of gentrification in the 1970s, but that contribution seems to have waned during the 1980s (Bostic and Martin 2003). Since African Americans have a harder time converting residential preferences into actual mobility (Crowder 2001) and Wyly and Hammel (2004) have actually found evidence of mortgage discrimination in Chicago gentrifying neighborhoods, this represents one way in which looking at gentrification from a wider metropolitan perspective might reveal inequalities beyond displacement.

Furthermore, it demonstrates the importance of viewing mobility to gentrifying neighborhoods as part of a larger context of resident mobility. While gentrification certainly presents unique challenges to equitable urban development (Slater, Curran, and Lees 2004), it is important to look at how these neighborhoods might interact as part of the larger metropolitan context to exacerbate existing inequalities in metropolitan development.

At the same time, this research also points to ways in which the gentrification studies can inform the understanding of general residential preferences in a metropolitan context. While life-course factors have long been associated with decisions about residential mobility (Speare and Goldscheider 1987; Rossi 1955) and age-specific mobility trends among US residents have shown destination-specific patterns (Plane and Heins 2003; Johnson, et al. 2005), the effect of education at different ages has not been considered. While researchers often control for the effect of education, it is treated as one of many other variables that might contain an independent effect. Yet, one of the contributions of gentrification research has been to demonstrate that class distinctions, particularly along lines of education, contribute to location-specific residential mobility (Butler 2007; Webber 2007). By incorporating Bourdieu's notion of the *habitus* can be extended for analysis of residential preferences and mobility (Bridge 2001; Butler 2007; Pattillo 2007), we understand the ways in which class distinction might extend to geographic distinction. Rather than understanding education as an independent factor among many factors, this analysis demonstrates that residential preferences across the entire age spectrum are informed by one's level of educational attainment. Residents with three or more years of college, while significantly less likely to consider a redeveloped neighborhood at younger ages, retain a relatively constant likelihood of considering a redeveloped neighborhood across the entire age spectrum. On the other hand, residents with less education, particularly those with a high school

degree but less than one year of college, are likely to consider a redeveloped neighborhood at young ages but across the age spectrum, these preferences decline steeply.

Further research is needed, however, to indicate whether these different age- and education-specific likelihoods are due to differences in cohorts or differences in life-course trajectories between different classes. On the one hand, Ley (1996) has argued that the “new middle class” that came of age during the New Left political movements of the late 1960s developed a different sense of the meaning of urban communities through their participation in those movements. This difference, he argues, led to the development of an appreciation of craft-like production and the authenticity of old-style housing available in urban centers. On the other hand, differences in the preferences among residents of different classes as they age on what is considered desirable might lead to very different neighborhood preferences. Because of the cross-sectional nature of this study, it is impossible to distinguish between these two. However, methodological innovations such as life history calendars can be used to determine whether there are educational differences in life-course trajectories that increase the likelihood of residence in redeveloped neighborhoods.

This analysis also indicates that there are differences in the reasons why Cook County residents would consider redeveloped neighborhoods. Although there are few significant independent effects on considering redeveloped neighborhoods for different reasons, these differences are theoretically important to understanding residential patterns among residents in an urban context. First, the kinds of “quality of life” reasons, such as being close to cultural and recreational activities, being close to shopping and the quality of the housing, are more likely to be selected by wealthier or more educated residents. This would indicate that, among “potential gentrifiers” (i.e. those residents of middle classes who would consider moving to redeveloped

neighborhoods), the kinds of amenities sought are in fact those of the “creative class” (Florida 2002) or “consumer immigrants” (Glaeser, Kolko, and Saiz 2001). If one undertakes the analysis of urban development by understanding what attracts upper and middle class residents to live in the city, then it appears that the revealed choices of residents match, on an aggregate class level, their stated preferences for moving to redeveloped neighborhoods.

These differences, however, point to one way in which redevelopment and gentrification might be harmful to the poor. As noted earlier, I find evidence that residents across social classes are, at younger ages, willing to consider redeveloped neighborhoods. This evidence supports the conclusions of Vigdor (2002) and Freeman and Braconi (2004) that residents with less education might choose to remain in redeveloped neighborhoods even if it means paying a premium for housing costs. The statistical analyses presented in these two studies assume that the surrounding neighborhoods remain constant and the only change that is considered is the class composition of the communities’ neighbors. Yet, because more educated and wealthier residents, as well as those in their thirties and forties compared to those in their twenties, are drawn to these neighborhoods because of their “quality of life” or consumptive opportunities, the available activities, shopping and housing stock is likely to reflect their tastes. In fact, in his follow up ethnographic study of gentrifying neighborhoods in New York, Freeman (2006) found this to be a source of tension among incumbent residents and gentrifiers (Ley 1996; see also Pattillo 2007; Zukin 1991).

Rather than being attracted to the cultural amenities offered by redeveloped neighborhoods, the least educated residents are drawn to these neighborhoods for the job opportunities. This is likely to fuel tensions as the very kind of shopping hypothesized to make urban neighborhoods attractive, independent stores selling products that are not or cannot be

mass-produced (Jacobs 1961; Ley 1996), are stores that employ relatively few people. Employment could also be gained in the building trades which are likely to grow as developers wish to capitalize on the exchange values of land property, a process which is often opposed by residents who desire redeveloped neighborhoods for the use value associated with being close to shopping and cultural amenities and preserving quality housing (Logan and Molotch 1987). Furthermore, if the commercial outlets are serving or marketing to middle-class clientele, the total costs associated with living in redeveloped neighborhoods are likely to rise *in addition* to the premium lower class residents pay for their housing making it both impractical to move to a redeveloped neighborhood or, alternatively, could make it difficult to stay in one.

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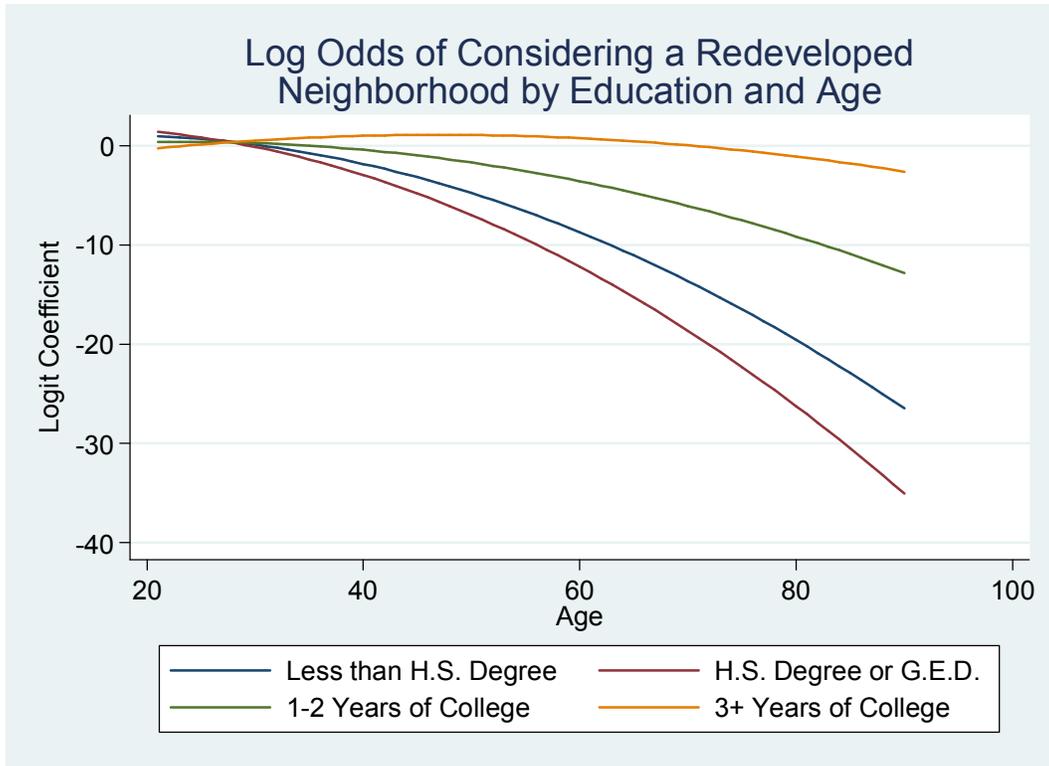


Figure 1.

Table 1. Mean (weighted) of respondents willing to consider a redeveloped neighborhood, Chicago Area Study

Variable	Mean
<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>	
White	0.45
Black	0.74
Hispanic	0.62
<i>Education</i>	
Less than H.S. degree	0.66
H.S. G.E.D. or less than 1 year of college	0.51
One or two years of college	0.52
Three or more years of college	0.57
<i>Income</i>	
Less than \$20,000	0.70
\$20,000-\$39,999	0.62
\$40,000-\$79,999	0.53
\$80,000+	0.46
<i>Current Housing Situation</i>	
Suburban Renter	0.68
Suburban Owner	0.36
Chicago Renter	0.73
Chicago Owner	0.66
<i>Gender</i>	
Male	0.59
Female	0.53
<i>Currently Married</i>	
Not Married	0.64
Married	0.48
<i>Child Present</i>	
No	0.56
Yes	0.55
Total	0.55

Table 2. Logistic regression of respondents considering a redeveloped neighborhood, Chicago Area Study

	(1)		(2)		(3)	
	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.
<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>						
Black	1.257 **	(0.268)	0.947 **	(0.305)	0.998 **	(0.304)
Hispanic	0.431	(0.378)	0.238	(0.353)	0.248	(0.338)
<i>Education</i>						
Less than H.S. degree	-0.230	(0.408)	0.013	(0.385)	1.234	(0.895)
H.S. or G.E.D.	-0.522	(0.331)	-0.413	(0.345)	1.657 *	(0.827)
1-2 years of college	-0.450	(0.363)	-0.432	(0.400)	0.711	(0.782)
<i>Age</i>						
Age ^a	-0.024	(0.030)	-0.025	(0.030)	0.107	(0.059)
Age Squared ^a	0.000	(0.000)	0.000	(0.000)	-0.002 *	(0.001)
<i>Education/Age Interactions</i>						
Age * < H.S. Degree					-0.157 *	(0.071)
Age Squared * < H.S. Degree					0.003 *	(0.001)
Age * H.S. or G.E.D.					-0.218 **	(0.068)
Age Squared * H.S. or G.E.D.					0.004 **	(0.001)
Age * 1-2 years of college					-0.094	(0.066)
Age Squared * 1-2 years of college					0.001	(0.001)
<i>Income</i>						
Less than \$20,000	0.704 *	(0.276)	0.025	(0.323)	0.168	(0.348)
\$20,000-\$39,999	0.452	(0.328)	-0.089	(0.304)	0.138	(0.312)
\$40,000-\$79,999	0.166	(0.250)	-0.244	(0.231)	-0.176	(0.217)
<i>Demographic Variables</i>						
Years Lived in Chicago Area	-0.012	(0.013)	-0.007	(0.013)	-0.011	(0.013)
Female	-0.263	(0.200)	-0.225	(0.195)	-0.195	(0.210)
Currently Married	-0.258	(0.271)	-0.243	(0.295)	-0.207	(0.295)
Child Present	-0.317	(0.233)	-0.305	(0.242)	-0.537 *	(0.268)
<i>Current Housing Situation</i>						
Suburban Renter			1.155 ***	(0.275)	1.258 ***	(0.289)
Chicago Owner			1.005 **	(0.330)	1.090 **	(0.313)
Chicago Renter			1.108 **	(0.369)	1.145 **	(0.351)
Constant	1.034 *	(0.447)	0.624	(0.477)	-0.525	(0.674)
Observations	760		759		759	

Standard errors in parentheses; *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

Table 3. Proportion (weighted) of respondents who would consider redeveloped neighborhood for reasons, Chicago Area Study

	Close to activities	Close to shopping	Quality housing	Close to work	City services	Job opportunities
<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>						
White	0.63	0.49	0.44	0.47	0.28	0.23
Black	0.35	0.28	0.44	0.30	0.55	0.41
Hispanic	0.27	0.31	0.41	0.56	0.51	0.48
<i>Education</i>						
Less than H.S. degree	0.33	0.32	0.31	0.49	0.52	0.65
H.S. G.E.D. or < 1 year of college	0.28	0.34	0.42	0.36	0.50	0.34
One or two years of college	0.43	0.30	0.38	0.37	0.37	0.31
Three or more years of college	0.63	0.47	0.51	0.48	0.36	0.25
<i>Income</i>						
Less than \$20,000	0.29	0.37	0.31	0.37	0.42	0.39
\$20,000-\$39,999	0.33	0.16	0.45	0.45	0.54	0.51
\$40,000-\$79,999	0.52	0.46	0.47	0.47	0.48	0.30
\$80,000+	0.64	0.49	0.48	0.40	0.24	0.21
<i>Current Housing Situation</i>						
Suburban Renter	0.47	0.40	0.31	0.46	0.31	0.35
Suburban Owner	0.65	0.45	0.32	0.39	0.26	0.20
Chicago Renter	0.36	0.37	0.48	0.44	0.52	0.36
Chicago Owner	0.40	0.33	0.54	0.44	0.50	0.45
<i>Age</i>						
20-29	0.29	0.37	0.35	0.55	0.35	0.40
30-39	0.56	0.38	0.53	0.48	0.51	0.34
40-49	0.52	0.33	0.41	0.33	0.41	0.33
50-59	0.52	0.40	0.39	0.37	0.32	0.31
60+	0.42	0.48	0.51	0.33	0.53	0.30
Total	0.46	0.38	0.43	0.43	0.42	0.34

Table 4. Heckman probit outcome models on reasons why respondents consider redeveloped neighborhoods, Chicago Area Study

	Close to Activities		Close to Shopping		Quality Housing		Close to Work		City Services		Job Opportunities	
	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.
Race/Ethnicity												
White (ref.)												
Black	-0.070	(0.258)	-0.410	(0.377)	-0.089	(0.229)	-0.152	(0.151)	0.342	(0.332)	0.112	(0.369)
Hispanic	-0.430	(0.275)	-0.174	(0.328)	0.066	(0.246)	0.141	(0.190)	0.343	(0.293)	0.056	(0.285)
Education												
Less than H.S. degree	-0.091	(0.248)	-0.126	(0.286)	-0.524	(0.328)	0.085	(0.282)	0.078	(0.300)	0.895 **	(0.333)
H.S. or G.E.D.	-0.552 *	(0.227)	-0.045	(0.294)	-0.222	(0.263)	-0.319	(0.197)	0.174	(0.250)	0.107	(0.277)
1-2 years of college	-0.340	(0.181)	-0.196	(0.378)	-0.222	(0.257)	-0.280	(0.200)	-0.035	(0.302)	0.105	(0.284)
3+ years of college (ref.)												
Income												
Less than \$20,000	-0.224	(0.212)	-0.502	(0.410)	-0.703 *	(0.299)	-0.076	(0.291)	0.021	(0.278)	0.277	(0.350)
\$20,000-\$39,999	-0.124	(0.267)	-1.040 *	(0.413)	-0.342	(0.278)	0.051	(0.240)	0.370	(0.301)	0.589	(0.327)
\$40,000-\$79,999	0.139	(0.198)	-0.196	(0.307)	-0.237	(0.248)	0.088	(0.216)	0.452	(0.263)	0.120	(0.273)
\$80,000+ (ref.)												
Current Housing Situation												
Suburban Owner (ref.)												
Suburban Renter	0.480	(0.299)	0.078	(0.601)	0.212	(0.533)	0.414	(0.230)	-0.297	(0.566)	-0.022	(0.573)
Chicago Renter	0.233	(0.218)	-0.213	(0.479)	0.687	(0.423)	0.425 *	(0.206)	0.057	(0.390)	0.272	(0.563)
Chicago Owner	0.424	(0.285)	0.204	(0.646)	0.822	(0.454)	0.469 *	(0.221)	0.081	(0.448)	-0.262	(0.534)
Age												
20-29(ref.)												
30-39	0.415 *	(0.198)	0.056	(0.316)	0.468 *	(0.208)	-0.164	(0.238)	0.455	(0.282)	-0.025	(0.247)
40-49	0.447 *	(0.218)	0.030	(0.336)	0.290	(0.231)	-0.580 *	(0.222)	0.321	(0.240)	-0.090	(0.249)
50-59	0.279	(0.255)	0.153	(0.363)	0.273	(0.303)	-0.525 *	(0.234)	0.257	(0.296)	-0.056	(0.331)
60+	0.173	(0.203)	0.566	(0.310)	0.785 **	(0.285)	-0.513 *	(0.254)	0.601 *	(0.290)	-0.479	(0.349)
Constant	-0.817 **	(0.254)	0.411	(0.892)	-0.397	(0.751)	-0.556 *	(0.269)	-0.627	(0.780)	-0.511	(1.008)
Observations	760		760		760		760		760		760	

Note: Standard errors in parentheses; selection model results suppressed

* p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01